20c JULY 30, 1951

Lesson of the Flood—page 8

New Republic

Hit him again — he's still breathing

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Letters

Eisenhower for President

● It is characteristic of many of us Americans—those, I mean, who are not political professionals—that we act efficiently when the occasion arises but in the meantime we are more interested in local than in world affairs. We know well enough that we are now facing the possibility of a third (and final) world war. We know that the Communists are bent on world conquest, and most of us are fatalists about it. The war may come or it may not. Those in authority are making preparations, but we think there is nothing much that the rest of us can do. So we go about our own affairs and indulge in our customary excitements. We are looking forward eagerly to the national election that is coming. We want to vote; and we want very much to know who the candidates for President will be. Most of us, if I am not mistaken, are hoping for the opportunity of voting for Eisenhower—and there the mat'

Some Republicans believe that the party's best hope is to nominate Eisenhower. There is also a strong movement among the Democrats to obtain him as their candidate for President. General Eisenhower has said that he is neither a Republican nor a Democrat, and he has consistently refused to run as a party man. If both parties want him, the conclusion seems obvious: the Eisenhower men should get together and see to it that he is nominated next July at both the Republican and Democratic conventions. By this means he could be assured that he would be the choice not of a party only but of the whole people. No man can refuse to serve his country as its President if he is called to that office by the American people.

This is perfectly legal, and not out of accord with our political system. Our forefathers voted unanimously for General Washington as our first President. As Warren was both the Republican and the Democratic candidate when he became Governor of California, so Eisenhower (or Eisenhower and Warren?) should head the ticket of both parties in the coming election. This would not mean our accepting that caricature of democracy, a one-party "yes-or-no" system, for there would still be Congressmen and legislators, state governors and other office-holders to elect along party lines. . . . It is no time now for politics or for personal ambitions. We know that we are facing a serious danger, that the threat of Russian aggression must be met and the menace forestalled by a united and determined people. . . .

The professional politicians may want Eisenhower as their party's candidate because they take it for granted that he would be elected on whichever ticket he ran. They know he is the man the people want, and they would make political capital out of his popularity. Some of them, therefore, in both parties, are opposed to any coalition. The Republicans have been out of office for so long that they are desperately eager to get in. They will be likely to say, "We can do everything that ought to be done. Just give us the chance to do it!" And the Democrats, of course, will say unblushingly, "See how well we have already done!" The professional politicians of both parties would have us plunge into a more than usually bitter campaign, with recriminations and counter-recriminations, with the MacArthur dismissal bandied about as political propaganda. I do not mean to imply that professional politicians are not loyal Americans. We all try to get ahead in our jobs. But can we not realize, with a world war in the offing, that this is not the time for indulging in these domestic squabbles?

The people as a whole want Eisenhower chiefly because they want peace. There is nothing illogical in our electing a five-star general because we want peace. We fully believe that our having a good stockpile of atom bombs is what has held the Russians in check thus far, and we know that for some time to come our hope of peace lies in being prepared. To elect General Eisenhower as President is an important item in our preparedness. He holds the confidence of our Allies and the respect of the Russians. General Eisenhower in the capital at Washington would be a mighty good danger signal to any country that would like to attack us. He wants peace as much as we all do, and on that very account he would do his utmost to keep us fit. As President he would have the support of Congress, since he would be the candidate of both parties. . . .

If politicians will be politicians, what can the rest of us do about it? There is something we can do, and the time to do it is now. By calling "Eisenhower for President" meetings all over the country we can make the will of the people thoroughly known before the primaries. We can demand that state delegations of both parties be pledged to Eisenhower. The will of the people must make itself known, must assert itself, if it is to accomplish its purpose. Will there be a meeting in your community, I wonder? And yours? And yours?

HENRY DAVID GRAY
Stanford University, Calif.

Stick With the Democrats

● Today, in reading your fine magazine, I came across T. R. B.'s mention of the Presidential election of 1952 and the Republican Party. He noted that if the Republicans nominate any "reasonable progressive," he would virtually be assured of victory (*NR*, June 25). Soon after reading this I sat back and tried to think of a "progressive" in the Republican ranks.

Certainly not Dewey or Stassen, who would follow MacArthur into China, could be considered progressive and would qualify. And whom does that leave? Taft, Wherry and finally the two worst of the bunch, MacArthur and McCarthy, who would surely lead us into a war. (And, it seems, knowingly, too.)

Unfortunately we Americans must stick

(*Continued on page 4*)

Bandwagon

Like How?

"General MacArthur is a logical candidate. He has a powerful hold on the women's vote in this country, mainly because he treats his wife like all wives would like to be treated." – *Fulton Lewis Jr., as quoted in an INS dispatch from Los Angeles.*

And Sleep Under the Bridges Together

Rising prices and inflation may serve one useful purpose if they make us remember how many of the good things in life are not material. Friendship, love, mutual peace and quiet contentment cannot be purchased with money. The rich man and the poor can enjoy them equally. – *From an editorial in the Minot (N. Dak.)* Daily News.

Type Casting

MacLean [Donald MacLean, one of the missing British diplomats] brooded so much about the inequities of present-day British diplomacy because of American leadership that he blew off steam in many curious ways. In Cairo he wrecked the apartment of an American Embassy girl. That, of course, got him right out of Egypt. When he recovered from a nervous condition that followed, he took charge of the Foreign Office's American desk. – *Seymour Freidin in the New York* Post.

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – The Editors

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New Republic

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PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1951, IN THE U. S. A. BY WESTBURY PUBLICATIONS, INC., PUBLISHING OFFICE 301 N ST., N. E., WASHINGTON 2, D. C. EDITORIAL AND BUSINESS COMMUNICATIONS SHOULD BE ADDRESSED TO 40 EAST 49 ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y. ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER SEPTEMBER 26, 1950, AT THE POST OFFICE AT WASHINGTON, D. C., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879. SINGLE COPY, 20c; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, $6.50; CANADA AND FOREIGN, $7.50. PRINTED IN THE U. S. A.

WASHINGTON WIRE

THINKING it all over as to who is the most dangerous man in America, we rather hesitantly come up with the answer, Bob Taft. At Annapolis last week he called the Korean struggle a "useless and expensive war." We assume that at the big Pilgrim fish fry at Plymouth, Mass., this Sunday, Taft will repeat his views. We have campaigned with Taft and have a sneaking affection for him, but he is simply wrong-headed and, equally important, he is powerful. To our way of thinking he is more dangerous to national unity than all the arrested Communists put together. This column has good reason to believe that somebody else shares our views: Eisenhower, over in Paris. Ike is heart and soul opposed to Taft's isolationism and sees the struggle shaping with Taft as reaction's mouthpiece. Ike himself may be no great shakes as a thinker on domestic, economic and social problems, but he knows the score on global matters. He has told friends who have told us that he would do his darnedest to head Taft off from the Presidency. We see that internal GOP struggle well underway now.

The State Department lost out to the Pentagon on Spain. It was a purely military decision that made Acheson eat dirt. Spain is still a fascist dictatorship whose boss sided with Hitler and Mussolini in the war. But the Pentagon told the State Department that Spanish naval and air bases are "imperative." It is hard for diplomats to oppose categorical military assertions on technical issues like that. France and Britain were kept informed from the beginning, but the speed of the last stages of talks with Franco astonished them. Ideologically there is not much difference in playing footie with dictator Tito than with Franco, the State Department decided. The pro-Franco Senate bloc, led by Sen. Pat McCarran (D, Nev.), has four or five votes and might make passage of the endangered $8.5 billion foreign-aid bill easier if given the Spanish sop. Here are two difficulties, however: Money for Spain may be subtracted by Congress from aid otherwise earmarked for free Europe. An anti-American reaction in Western Europe may cost us more security than we gain by Spanish air bases. After all, what is the hurry? Franco has nowhere else to go; the land for the proposed bases won't fly away.

Truman's mid-year economic report comes smack in the middle of the Senate-House conferees' effort to work out the controls bill. As things stand, Truman says, we face a $15 to $20 billion inflationary gap a year hence. The House cared so little about it that at one time in its fantastic 10-day legislative orgy it included a guaranteed profits provision in the proposed bill, a feature hitherto considered anathema in American free-enterprise thinking. In the not-quite-so-bad version that ultimately emerged, this and other interesting variations of latest capitalistic thinking were dropped. The alarming thing in all this is the apathy of consumers. The answer is probably in the findings of the University of Michigan's spot check of 1,000 families. In January, two out of three of those interviewed thought prices would go up in 12 months. In June only two out of five thought so. Why protest to Congress if prices are coming down anyway? But Truman's economic report reveals plans to boost defense expenditures $30 billion in the next 12 months. Without controls, such huge expenditures inevitably spell inflation. The only rational argument that can be advanced for expecting inflation *not* to occur is that Congress will cancel the big Truman defense program. The implication of that belief is rather scary, too, if carried to its logical conclusion, for it implies the expectation of a scramble to disarm as we did after World War II. Nothing like that is apt to happen.

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The common belief that bound together the victims of bizarre, one-legged, confidence man Sam Mason was that favors can be secured in Washington by bribery or "sewer money." The victims included a Boston contractor, a Philadelphia foreign-language editor and two Greek-Catholic priests from New York, and the total funds which they say they advanced was more than a third of a million dollars. This Senate investigation was one of the most fantastic we have seen in years. Humorous, genial, bloated Mason sent his victims telegrams about supposed contracts in a jargon that sounded like a cross between a racing tipsheet and a Kiplinger letter. He spent his own time at the race track. It was funny, in a way, and yet supremely shocking. It showed that distrust of Washington has reached such a point with the class of people who read Hearst editorials that their cupidity makes them think they can cash in on their government's dishonesty. They trusted Mason more than Uncle Sam.

Notes: Truman never wanted to veto the Kerr natural gas bill but did so ostensibly to protect the authority of the Federal Power Commission; in one of the best news breaks Drew Pearson ever published he revealed that under Truman-appointee Mon Wallgren the commission has just voluntarily abdicated, four to one, the power which the veto protected, to take jurisdiction over natural gas producers and distributors even in interstate commerce. . . . So the battle over the Kerr bill is lost; Truman says he supports the decision. . . . Truman is 67; the man who would succeed him if he died is Barkley, 73; next in line is Speaker Rayburn, 69; behind him is Senate president pro tem McKellar, 82. . . . Despite eye cataracts, genial Barkley is preparing to run again if Truman does: Truman will be 68 on election day and Barkley just under 75. . . . Arthur Krock blames Truman's defeat on controls to his rejection of Bernard Baruch's advice for all-out action last year; Krock's adoration of Baruch is a lovely thing, but Baruch's proposal of a strait-jacket to free the economy in 1950 had no relation to political reality.

Washington T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

(*Continued from page 2*)

with the Democrats, "do or die." Whether we like Truman or not, whether we like the current government scandals or not, and whether we like having to choose between two such parties as the one completely controlled by big business, and the other riddled with corruption, we must support the Democrats. Personally, if a man with President Truman's policies ran on the Republican ticket I would gladly vote for him. But, as I have said, unfortunately if we do not support the Democrats now, we most certainly shall be plunged into World War III. . . .

Congratulations for having such a fearless, courageous magazine and having the guts to defy public opinion and say what you think is right.

Rego Park, N. Y. FLOYD ABRAMS

Nomination

● Justice Hugo Black for President.

New York City HORACE CASSELBERRY

Responsive

● Maybe it was because mine eyes had not seen the glory of the coming of the "Lord." At any rate I sent letters to two of what we rather quaintly call Representatives shortly after General MacArthur began his triumphal march from San Francisco to the opposite sea. By these letters I sought to introduce a sour note into the wild *te deum* being whipped up so feverishly. Not only did I affirm the principle of civilian control over policy-making, I also had the temerity to suggest that history might not even vouchsafe the General the military pre-eminence so glibly conceded him.

From Senator Knowland I received the following reply:

> Many thanks for your recent communication. I appreciate your expressions of confidence in General MacArthur. Attached are copies of some remarks I recently made in the Senate that I thought would be of interest to you.

No one can say the Senator is not responsive, although his response may be irrelevant, immaterial and incompetent.

Palo Alto, Calif. F. S. RANDALL

MacArthur as Stylist

● With grim satisfaction I read Victor Purcell's indictment of General MacArthur's "sadistic maltreatment of the English language" (*NR*, July 2). I confess that I have not been able to read much of the General's lucubrations, which are deadly dull and probably produced by his corps of press agents, but when he took the air he produced such monstrosities as "Armagg'edon." Surely a military commander parading his vocal prowess should know how to pronounce the name of the last great battle, especially when one of our bucolic Senators thought "he spoke with the voice of God." But I begin to suspect that what we are told about MacArthur's brilliant military genius is based upon the same press-agent claque. . . .

Pittsburgh, Pa. GEORGE SEIBEL

Better No Controls at All

● I read with interest the article, "Behind the Meat Strike," by A. J. Heidenheimer (*NR*, June 25). While our organization favors controls, we believe the present set-up is absolutely unworkable. If we cannot have a better stabilization program, our nation would be better off with no stabilization at all. Naturally, we are interested in the continuation of the giant industry in which our membership is employed. We know the small meat merchant would not close his doors, as some of them are doing at present, if he could operate under the government's program profitably. A stabilization program which compels anyone to operate at a loss cannot be sound.

The corner butcher who is compelled to sell his best cuts of beef at $1.19 a pound, with so little of this quality to sell, in our opinion is having too many verbal brickbats heaved at him. The restaurateur who pays $1.19 for the best steaks under the program is permitted to sell them, as is being done at present in Chicago, for $8.50.

With the price of beef going up and practically no regulations on poultry, what is the housewife to do and where can she go for some protection, with unscruplous merchants adding some five cents per pound per week to the cost of stewing chickens?

I shall never believe that a government which permits giant corporations like General Motors to go on their merry way earning a billion dollars in profits annually while the same program squeezes the little fellow out of business can be anything but asinine. That kind of democracy I would prefer to shy away from.

PATRICK E. GORMAN
Secretary-Treasurer of
Chicago, Ill. Amalgamated Meat Cutters

Praise for Clurman

● Harold Clurman's drama reviews give me great pleasure. It is rare for a reviewer to have an extensive knowledge of the theatre, power to direct exquisitely, and a talent for expressive writing.

Reading his critiques is next best to seeing the plays.

Springfield, Ill. ARDIS SWORDES

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VOLUME 125, NUMBER 5, ISSUE 1913, WASHINGTON, D. C., JULY 30, 1951

New Republic

CONGRESS WILL DECIDE

OPINION is divided among liberals in Congress as to whether the present body should go down in history as "The Horse Meat Congress" or "The Dog Food Congress." By general agreement, this is not the most statesmanlike group of men and women ever to make our laws. There is considerable irony, therefore, in the assignment which President Truman outlines for the 82nd Congress in his mid-year Economic Report:

> Our economic problems in this country are now based mainly upon world problems. Our economic tasks are heavy because of the weight of our world responsibility.
>
> The security of the free world is not a matter of guns alone. It requires also economic, political and moral strength. The defense program of the US embraces all of these.
>
> Where we go from here depends on the decisions made by the Congress.
>
> In the next days and weeks . . . in its consideration of military appropriations, the Congress will decide whether we as a nation are going to achieve adequate security in the next few years.
>
> In its consideration of the Mutual Security Program, it will decide whether we will continue to join boldly in marshaling the whole strength of the free world in a common resistance to Communist aggression.
>
> In its consideration of the Defense Production Act, it will decide whether we will channel our resources effectively to meet the demands of national security.
>
> In its consideration of that Act and of revenue legislation, it will decide whether the line will be held against inflation.

The task and the men are not well met. The Senators and Representatives the President is calling upon to act in a spirit of Democratic idealism are the same individuals who welcomed greedy lobbyists into the legislative temple and did their bidding in wrecking inflation controls. They have proved too nearsighted to see beyond the cotton pastures and the cow lots of their home districts. They have already decided wrong on controlling inflation and channeling our resources for defense. Now, with the enlarged program the President has called for in his mid-year Economic Report, the problem with which they are trifling assumes far greater proportions.

The need for building our military strength will continue after Korea, the President states, and he calls for a total security program that will require 20 percent of the national production by a year from now. Prior to Korea we invested about six percent of our total national output in defense; about 11 percent of all production is now going for security purposes and that amount will increase to approximately 15 percent by the end of 1951. This Congress has already refused to authorize safeguards which the President says are essential with a program of this size. To increase defense expenditures from $35 billion last year to $50 billion this year and $65 billion in 1952, as Truman recommends, without increasing taxes at least $10 billion, tightening credit policy, assuring a large volume of voluntary savings, and strengthening price, wage and rent controls is almost to assure that inflationary pressure will become intolerable, the President's report emphasizes. Left to itself, this Congress will almost certainly do none of these things by August 1.

What happened to the new Defense Production Act, scheduled to go into effect on July 30, explains why. That was an example of log-rolling for the textbooks. Rep. Louis Rabaut of Michigan, speaking of the House version of the bill, accurately remarked that "if there ever was pork, it is here. If there ever was 'you scratch my back and I'll rub yours', it is here—right here. The other day they said the jewelry interests were ganged up with the beef crowd. Perhaps they are going to put gold nose-rings on the bulls."

Rep. Jesse Wolcott, shrewd Republican leader against controls, working closely with Republican Whip Charles Halleck, one of the most flagrant spokesmen for big business ever to serve in the House, gave and took ground in a masterly display of generalship. He confused the Democrats with showers of amendments—over 50 were introduced on the last day. The corridor lobbyists, under Republican direction, planted their special interest riders with gullible Democrats to further divide the majority. Trades with the Southern Democrats were made on the floor and the cloakrooms and adjusted as the tide of battle changed.

On the Democratic side there was no Wolcott. Rep. Brent Spence, the aging chairman of the House Banking

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and Currency Committee, led the fight almost alone. His gallant insistence on rollcall votes that would make the record clear for next year's campaign was frowned on by Speaker Rayburn. No administration phalanx stood behind him. The big city Democrats turned up for all the rollcalls, but even they disappeared on many crucial teller votes.

Labor leaders kept the press releases flowing in support of the Administration bill, but it was noted at the Capitol that the only time labor lobbyists appeared in force was on the day preceding the vote on the Lucas Amendment which would have gutted the wage stabilization program. General consumer pressure for strengthening controls never materialized. The decisive rollcall votes went against the Administration by an almost uniform 50 vote margin.

In the 1950 election, the democrats lost 27 good liberal representatives from the districts most affected by price controls. Had those 27 members been in the House of Representatives to vote on July 21, inflation controls might have been retained at least in a substantial part.

Present indications are that the final stabilization bill will ban price rollbacks on beef and rule out slaughtering quotas. OPS officials say that meat price control is 50 percent of the controls program and that without slaughtering quotas they cannot control the price of meat.

Both houses voted to relax installment credit regulations for auto purchases and to allow 20-percent rent boosts. They refused to control commercial rents or commodity speculation or to restrict real-estate credit or to grant the government authority to build defense plants, set up new government corporations, adjust parity annually, or subsidize high-cost agricultural producers.

The result inevitably is much more inflation. The methods used to win this victory for the profiteers can be used to defeat adequate military appropriations and economic aid for our allies unless the lesson of the inflation fight is studied and mastered.

MAKING FRIENDS WITH FRANCO

WASHINGTON is doing everything it can to make the new alliance with Dictator Franco palatable to American public opinion. We are being told that nothing has finally been decided, though dispatches from Madrid contradict this and say that agreement in principle has been reached. Dean Acheson tries to reassure Britain, France and other members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization that their priority in arms will be continued. He also insists that the US does not intend, in case of an all-out Russian attack, to retire behind the Pyrenees; we shall defend Europe, not liberate it.

Our military leaders have long advocated a military alliance with Spain, on purely strategic grounds. It is their business to think in these terms — which is why military men should never be allowed to conduct wars or dictate policy. On these grounds, obviously, the case has some merit. If Russia started a war tomorrow, it is highly doubtful whether she could be stopped anywhere north of the Pyrenees—if even there. Holding Spain would prevent the necessity for another invasion like the Normandy landing of 1944 which so nearly ended in disaster.

But the question is: will this alliance aid or hinder our worldwide fight against totalitarianism? We believe there is only one answer: the alliance is on balance a disastrous mistake.

There is plenty of evidence that the regime of Hitler's friend, Franco, is near the end of its rope. Except for American support, it might have fallen before this, and been succeeded by a government with which we could work and still keep our self-respect.

News of the American alliance has caused dismay throughout the democratic world, and most of all in England and France. It has weakened the present governments in both those countries at a moment when their stability is of great importance to us.

The Korean War and existing obligations under the NATO are straining our resources; there is a real question whether we can afford to give guns to Franco now—guns he is quite likely to turn against the Spanish people.

It is in terms of the worldwide struggle against Communism that the new policy is most of all a disaster. We profess that ours is a cold war of democracy against totalitarianism and dictatorship, which happens in Russia to take the guise of Communism. Every totalitarian nation that we admit to our ranks weakens the validity of our position. On May 11, 1949, Secretary Acheson explained to his press conference why the US did not recognize the Franco Government:

> Fundamental basic rights of the individual which make the difference between what we call free Europe and the Iron Curtain countries . . . do not exist in Spain. . . . It seems perfectly clear to the Western European countries that you cannot have an intimate working partnership with such a regime in the economic field and in the defense field. . . . American policy is to try to bring Spain back into the family

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of Western Europe. . . . It isn't fundamentally a matter which can be brought about by American action . . . it is a policy directed toward bringing about a situation where the fundamental liberties do exist in Spain and where the Western Europeans can bring Spain into the community.

Military alliance with Franco marks the end of that intelligent policy. In a famous phrase, this alliance is worse than a crime; it is a blunder. We need Spain, but we don't need Franco. Through sheer stupidity we are putting ourselves in a position where we shall keep Franco and thereby nullify much or all of the usefulness of Spain.

President Truman should reconsider this action. We should make friends only with a Spain worthy of our friendship—a Spain fit to participate in the worldwide struggle to keep democracy alive.

THE WEEK

THE HARRIMAN MISSION

Shortly before Iranian Premier Mohammed Mossadegh accepted the US proposal to send Averell Harriman on a vaguely defined mission of conciliation, the Washington *Post* received a rather bitter letter from the US Ambassador in Teheran, Henry F. Grady. The letter was in response to the *Post's* own idea of sending Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas to mediate the Iranian oil dispute and suggested pointedly that if Supreme Court justices were to be sent on hazardous foreign missions, ambassadors should also be allowed to round out their experiences by sitting on the Court bench in Washington.

Grady had reason to be somewhat disgusted with the communications he has been getting from Washington during the course of the oil crisis. US weight has shifted first from the British then to the Iranian and then back to the British side. Not since the Palestine case in 1948 has the State Department pursued so erratic a policy. It seems to have been torn between the feeling that it should understand and sympathize with nationalism and a fear that any radical change in the *status quo* would prove disastrous.

It is Harriman's tough assignment to persuade the Iranians to make a deal with the West and rely on our repeated statements of sympathy and promises of assistance. In material terms, the disputed ownership of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, valued variously at between $500 million and $1 billion, should not prove an impossible stumbling block. The British-Iranian altercation is, financially, over a matter of tens of millions annually.

Harriman is faced by a situation in which the Iranians have won a clear-cut victory with regard to taking over the oil properties. Only the British technicians who have refused to work for Iran prevent the victory from being complete. These are the facts, and no opinion of the World Court has the political power to change the essentials of the situation. What can effect the needed understanding between the Iranian producers and the West's experts and consumers is a realistic appraisal of the physical problems involved. A settlement of these can serve as the only basis for a better political understanding.

A LABOR DAILY

When Pittsburgh's three daily newspapers—the *Press*, the *Post-Gazette* and the *Sun-Telegraph*—shut down operations last fall, locking out 3,000 employees over a wage dispute with the AFL Mailers' Union, more than two million local readers were left newspaperless. Twelve CIO and AFL newspaper unions quickly formed a publishing company and, in record time, put out the *Daily Reporter* to keep Pittsburgh citizens informed. After 34 publishing days, the duration of the lockout, the labor daily voluntarily passed out of existence, surprising all by leaving a $50,000 profit to its parent corporation, the Newspaper Unions Publishing Company, Inc. Its success fired a long-time ambition of labor leaders—to publish a daily labor newspaper.

Sam Eubanks, executive vice-president of the American Newspaper Guild, and many of his union colleagues in the Pittsburgh venture, started planning the *National Reporter*. Smart enough to know that a full-fledged daily newspaper needs a chain of regional papers and a million dollars to break even these days, the sponsors made an early decision: the *National Reporter* would not attempt to compete with regular dailies in content or circulation. Instead, it would try to give a balanced cross-section report of events in and around the trade-union movement, both here and abroad.

The *National Reporter* will at first be addressed to the most influential members of the labor movement—business agents, staff representatives and local and national union officials, plant committeemen, education and political-action directors. "National and international news of particular interest to labor will be presented from labor's viewpoint," says the prospectus. There will be no editorial page. Experienced reporters, located in key news centers, will interpret controversial issues which concern labor, including legislation, National Labor Relations Board decisions, and governmental executive and administrative actions affecting wages, prices and production.

The paper will do without advertising. Calculations of the sponsors indicate that their eight-page, five-day-a-week newspaper can break even by selling 20,000 yearly subscriptions at $20 each. A volunteer staff of interested labor leaders recently began a campaign for subscriptions. Organizers of the new

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paper hope to reach their subscription quota by the end of August. AFL and CIO internationals have already endorsed the project and the United Labor Policy Committee, instrument of joint AFL-CIO action, is said to be showing interest in the project.

THE BIG GET BIGGER

It has long been suspected (and repeatedly revealed in *New Republic* articles on our mobilization program) that a handful of giant corporations have received the lion's share of defense contracts since Korea. A subcommittee of the Senate Small Business Committee recently compiled the exact figures: 10 large manufacturing companies have been handed 40 percent of the total dollar volume of federal defense contracts, and 50 companies have received almost two-thirds of all defense contracts.

The subcommittee, headed by Russell Long (D, La.), points out that this is a "considerably higher concentration than during World War II when 10 large manufacturing companies controlled 30 percent of the war-contract dollar volume and 100 companies, two-thirds." Although there are only a few firms equipped to assemble planes and tanks—accounting for a huge proportion of our defense spending—the report contends that the giant industrialists and the military planners are not utilizing "alternative sources of supply equally competent to perform the work."

The General Motors Corporation heads the list of big companies profiting from the total $23 billion worth of prime defense contracts let between July 1, 1950, and June 1 of this year. GM received $3.5 billion. Others in the "big 10" include: Ford Motor Company, $1 billion; Boeing Airplane Company, $960 million; Curtiss-Wright Corporation, $840 million; Lockheed Aircraft Corporation, $674 million; Republic Aviation Corporation, $549 million; General Electric Company, $500 million; United Aircraft Corporation, $490 million; North American Aviation, $481 million; Grumman Aircraft Engineers Corporation, $410 million.

"Concentration of industrial strength inevitably leads toward monopoly," the report states, and "a few producing units grow larger while smaller ones are starved out." The effect of such concentration, the committee believes, will be disastrous to our whole free-enterprise system in the long run as well as immediately harmful to the mobilization effort. "To maintain a balanced economy . . . in which small business can flourish, our industrial system cannot be strait-jacketed by utter dependence upon the output of a few score companies."

The subcommittee found evidence that prime contractors are "hoarding" their contracts, refusing to subcontract unless their plants are operating at 100-percent capacity. Small businessmen have reported that these prime contractors tell them: "Our production line is not up to the point yet where we look for additional sources. . . . Don't bother us until 1952 or 1953."

The report contains this forceful conclusion: "The trend of concentration of defense contracts must be immediately reversed and defense contracts spread widely in industry to guarantee a broad and growing industrial base, if this top-heavy imbalance is not to undermine our economy, retard our mobilization effort, and entrench monopoly beyond hope of dislodgement in our time."

LESSON OF THE FLOOD

"THE FLOODS which within the past fortnight have swept over Kansas and Nebraska and are now threatening to inundate thousands of acres of Missouri crop-growing land," editorialized the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* the other day, "are providing Missouri Valley Authority proponents with ammunition they are not neglecting." The *Globe-Democrat* went on to say why, despite the widespread suffering and economic waste caused by the flooding of the uncontrolled Missouri tributaries, it still considered the MVA "phony and socialistic." It opposes the water-control project because it would inevitably mean "screwy bookkeeping, slick financing with the taxpayer's money" and a "federal autocracy."

But in another part of flood-threatened St. Louis the editors of the *Post-Dispatch*, who have supported the MVA since it was first proposed by Sen. James Murray (D., Mont.) in 1944, had another story to tell. Commenting on the flood, they declared: "This is the performance which accompanies the fine promises of the Army Engineers before the flood and their profuse excuses afterwards. The unapologetic fact is that the people of the Missouri Valley are paying now for the Army Engineers' mistakes" and their "multiple overlapping and conflicting agencies."

Why was the Missouri Valley so badly prepared for the whirling waters of the Kansas and other flooded Missouri basin rivers? Essentially because political log-rolling has perpetuated the piecemeal, outdated methods through which the Army Engineers have enriched local contractors. According to Morris L. Cooke, chairman of the President's Water Resources Commission, the Army Engineers and the Reclamation Service "rushed into each other's arms" when Senator Murray introduced his bill, "and patched up an understanding leading to appropriations of about $200 million apiece for each of the two services."

The result of this wedding was the so-called Pick-Sloan Plan which has served as a substitute for real planning for the Missouri since 1944. According to Benton Stong, head of the MVA Regional Committee, allowing the Army Engineers to handle flood control was like sending "Typhoid Mary to stop a typhoid epidemic." By the time the 1947 flood came, the Engineers had been working on the river for 70 years at a cost of more than $1 billion. Their outdated levee system gave way before the flood waters then, just as the patched-up levees broke under the impact of the present flood. In 1947, R. H. Musser, a regional Conservation Service official, estimated flood damage at more than $500 million, with "enough soil washed away to cover 325,000 acres of

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farming land to a depth of six inches."

In 1949, the Hoover Commission gave full support to Senator Murray's charge that the Pick-Sloan Plan was "wasteful of money, wasteful of resources and wasteful of the area's great potentialities." Referring to the agreement reached between the Army's Pick and Reclamation's Sloan, the commission declared: "The compromise consisted for the most part in a division of projects, each agency agreeing to forego the privilege of criticizing projects assigned . . . to the other. The result is in no sense an integrated development plan for the basin, and there is serious question in this case whether agreement between the two agencies is not more costly to the public than disagreement."

A brief look at a map of the proposed MVA installations shows the reason for the present flood, which will cause far more damage than the 1947 disaster. Under the MVA, the Kansas River would have been controlled. On its southern tributaries—the Solomon, the Saline and the Smoky Hill—there would have been five dams. On the streams flowing down from the north—the Republican, the Little Blue and the Blue—there would have been nine. When the flood struck this year, only four dams—all on the Republican—had been completed. And the waters rushed downstream unimpeded. Whereas the Missouri had poured 480,000 cubic feet of water into the Mississippi at the peak of the 1947 flood, the anticipated current peak is about 600,000 cubic feet.

Why has Congress refused to vote an MVA on the pattern of the Tennessee Valley experiment? Admittedly, the Missouri Valley is 13 times as big (530,000 as against 41,000 square miles) but the economic and social problems of the two basins are essentially the same. The TVA has more than paid for itself. Before the TVA, the Tennessee area paid only 3.4 percent of the total income taxes collected in the US; it paid 6.3 percent in 1947. The total increase since 1933—in good part due to the TVA—has been three times as much as the total national investment in the TVA.

The reasons for Congress' inaction were given by Hubert Humphrey (D., Minn.) in a 1949 Senate speech.

Humphrey listed the reasons: "First," he said, "is the power lobby, whose rates in and near the Tennessee River were cut drastically by the TVA." Private power rates in the Missouri area are twice as high as the TVA rates. Where Minnesota paid $2.4 million for power in 1947, the TVA rates would have cut its bill to slightly more than $1 million. "Behind the power lobby," continued Humphrey, "comes a fake development association formed of the contractors to the Army and the Bureau of Reclamation who are now engaged in a hodgepodge of contrary maneuvers in the Missouri Valley.

"Next come the railroads, who . . . are out to prevent the MVA from opening up the way to healthy competition from river transportation. Finally come the water-rights attorneys who stand to lose their constant, sterile litigation over ownership of the resources of all the people, namely, water."

The huge investment of the Army Engineers in levees and similar makeshift devices should not be wasted. But the folly of relying on the makeshifts alone was pointed up in a statement by the Engineers' Gen. Lewis A. Pick himself, when he surveyed the stricken flood area in 1947. "I could see nothing but water," he said. "In some places it was 25 miles wide. I never felt so ineffectual in my life. . . ."

At the time of the 1947 disaster, the Republican governors of the Missouri-area states met to discuss the aftereffects. They decided to petition for an extension of the Pick-Sloan Plan and of the piecemeal approach it represents. Gov. Val Peterson of Nebraska has called a similar meeting for July 25. It will be interesting to observe whether after the Hoover Commission report and a disaster which dwarfs previous records, any of the area's conservative leaders have begun to see the light.

A. J. HEIDENHEIMER

Reprinted from the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*

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JAPAN AFTER THE TREATY

Americans generally will welcome the announcement of the proposed terms of the Japanese peace treaty. Although some minor changes may be expected before the final signing in San Francisco —six years after a different kind of signing on the deck of the USS Missouri in Tokyo Bay—the firm outline of a "peace of reconciliation" will not be altered.

The peace treaty with Japan is part of the building of collective security in the Pacific. Japan is the keystone of such security, with her unique resources in Asia of highly developed industrial capacity, trained workers and administrative skill. For six years we have been grooming Japan for this role, unconsciously at first, later with careful design.

Right up to the present, however, the Occupation of Japan has been an experiment on a grand scale, an attempt to "win the peace" by creating from above the conditions in which a politically free and an economically viable society could flourish. On balance, it would appear that we had tipped the scales in favor of the democratic way. Certainly the 88 percent of the peasants who today till their own land, the large and well-organized trade-union movement, and the participation of women in public life are all evidence of strengthened democratic elements and practices.

There are indications, however, that less democratic forces may be returning to power. With the regaining of complete sovereignty, Japan will be able to undo much of the Occupation's achievements should she so desire. Already, with the tacit approval of the Supreme Allied Command for the Pacific, the Japanese Government is taking steps to "depurge" most of the political, military, business and educational leaders previously barred from public life because of their activities in promoting Japan's war policy. Some 169,000 have now been depurged, largely by class designation rather than through individual rescreening. Members of the top 57 "Zaibatsu" families have also been taken off the list and may once again participate in Japan's economic life.

At the same time an Ordinance Review Committee has been appointed by the Yoshida Cabinet to examine carefully, with an eye to repeal or amendment, laws originally adopted in accordance with SCAP directives. Anti-trust and labor legislation is now under the committee's scrutiny.

Despite all the uncertainties in Japan's own political situation and despite the diplomatic problems which the treaty does not attempt to solve, the free nations of Asia by and large appear to accept the thesis that Japan must join their ranks in the interest of common security and peace.

EXAMINING THE EXAMINERS

A revealing and disturbing footnote to the federal loyalty program is to be found in a recent letter from the Civil Service Commission to Vice-president Barkley, asking that the Administrative Procedure Act be amended to permit the removal of hearing examiners on loyalty grounds in accordance with the procedure established by the loyalty program.

The Act now provides that hearing examiners may be removed only for good cause on the record established at a hearing conducted under rules of evidence applicable to court trials, thereby including the right to confrontation and to cross-examine. No such rules, of course, are observed in the President's loyalty purge. As the commission states, the government retains and keeps secret the FBI reports which "constitute the government's case," never allowing them to be made a part of the record or showing them to the accused. The commission complains that, as to hearing examiners, "If the Administrative Procedure Act is not followed any adjudication of disloyalty is sure to be reversed in a subsequent proceeding in court. If the Administrative Procedure Act is followed the evidence that can be presented at the hearing is certain to be insufficient to justify adjudication of disloyalty."

Seldom has there been such an abject admission that the elementary rules of fair play observed in courts cannot justify a finding of disloyalty under the loyalty program.

LOYALTY OATH QUESTIONED

AUSTIN, TEXAS (NR corresp.)

The University of Texas may be regaining its academic courage. The University Board of Regents, by a five-to-four vote, has asked State Attorney General Price Daniel for a ruling on the constitutionality of an elongated loyalty oath ordered by the legislature for all state employees and faculty members who remain on the payroll after September 1. The oath requires these people to pledge that they are not, and have not within the last 10 years been, members of any organization of the list of more than 200 "subversive" organizations issued by the US Attorney General under the federal loyalty program.

Regent Chairman Dudley K. Woodward Jr., who spoke for the majority of five, said the regents are sworn to operate the university according to law and must, therefore, make sure that the oath is constitutional. Both Woodward and Regent Tom Sealy, who led the minority of four, agreed that there are no subversives on the Texas University faculty, but they differed over questioning the constitutionality of the oath.

The Texas legislature has long required state employees and faculty members to swear that they do not belong to any organizations which advocate the overthrow of the government by force. The 10-year "look-back" provision was written into the 1951-53 appropriation bill by a free conference committee, so that members had no chance to vote on it directly. However, there is little doubt that it would have been adopted by the full legislature had there been a vote on it.

Woodward, who assumed the chairmanship of the Regents soon after liberal Dr. Homer P. Rainey was fired as president of the university in 1944, was considered a safe conservative at the time. Recently, however, Woodward denounced the legislature as being strongly influenced by business interests, such as the Texas Manufacturers Association, and came to the defense of Clarence Ayers, an outstanding economics professor at the university, when that respected liberal was under attack by Dixiecrat legislators.

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Outside America

A NEW RUSSIAN POLICY?

Paris has had bad luck with the celebration of the 2,000th anniversary of the city's creation. There was less sunshine in May and June than ever before in recorded weather history, and the prospect was gloomy for the week ending July 8 which was to give the festivities their climax. Then the sun came out; and on the Fourth of July, Gen. Charles de Gaulle's brother, Pierre, who is the Parisian equivalent of "Mayor of the Town," had the highly dubious pleasure of announcing that M. A. Yasnov, his Muscovite opposite number, had startlingly and unexpectedly turned up.

The decision of the Mayor of Moscow to accept an invitation to celebrate the birthday of Paris, and even more his actual arrival, was a bigger surprise than the Kremlin's sponsorship of the Korean truce talks. It brought home to the French quite literally that the Russians were really trying, rather in the manner of the Greeks bearing gifts, to build up something like a *détente cordiale*. For on the same day, perhaps not entirely incidentally America's national holiday, the official French Communist newspaper *Humanité* reeked of what was plainly intended as a facsimile of sweetness and light; and the French Communist Partisans of Peace announced, with what they obviously wanted considered good grace, their acceptance of a police decision to ban a demonstration which had been scheduled for July 15.

What happens in Paris always means to the French many times what happens anywhere and everywhere else. But the French noticed—the newspapers playing up the news—that, also on the same day, the Russians were straining to relieve tension on a long front stretching from Kaesong and Tokyo to Berlin and Blackpool.

For the first time in the history of the American Club of Tokyo, the Soviet representative accepted an invitation to attend the Fourth of July celebration. In reporting the event, the French correspondents not only described General Kislenko's smiling face and glistening medals, and "Mme. Kislenko, *trés élégante*, wearing a large hat with flowers and a flowering print dress," but noted that the General, at the moment of shaking hands with Japanese Prime Minister Yoshida, did two different and contradictory things at the same time: he drew the Japanese warmly toward him, yet kept his back and neck stiff as a poker.

In Berlin, the Soviets' Serge Denguine attended a meeting at British Military Government headquarters. He was the first Russian to participate in a four-power conference in Berlin since the session in 1949 on lifting the blockade. Later in the day, Denguine led a group of Russians to the Fourth of July party given by General Mathewson; and for the first time, the Russians broke up their usual tight phalanx and mixed as individuals with the crowd of other guests.

At the miners' conference in Blackpool, the Communists failed to protest against a resolution approving the government's foreign policy and calling upon Moscow to accept a system of disarmament and atomic control. On the contrary, Abe Moffatt, leader of the Scottish miners and spokesman for the Communists, talked about "the new world situation" while his henchmen said that nothing—but nothing—should be done to "interfere with the new peace efforts."

The French accept gladly both the Korean truce negotiations and the new Soviet strategy of sweetness and light. But they do not consider that the two add up to the making of any real *détente cordiale*. The Soviet retreat from what Averell Harriman properly called a monumental blunder does not, the French think, constitute an advance toward reconciliation. And anyway, the French are better aware than most peoples of the difference between good manners and politeness.

Many of the French think that the new Soviet strategy is designed to block, or at least delay, the making of the peace treaty with Japan. According to this theory, the purpose of the Korean aggression was rather like that of the Soviet attack on Finland. In each case, a risk was taken to remove a potential source of military danger. But in Finland, the Russians were able to bludgeon their way to success; while in Korea, they have called off the Chinese because the focus of the military danger, as seen by the Kremlin, has shifted. European rearmament is now the danger, and the most important target of Soviet attack is the improvement in military preparedness growing out of better cooperation and greater unity.

There is little chance, the French believe, that the Russians are making still another monumental blunder—that they believe their sugar will be more effective than their vinegar in splitting the Europeans away from the Atlantic Community. But, on the other hand, the purpose of the truce in Korea may be to take advantage of what some Frenchmen consider a mistake by the Americans — that is, to have linked too directly and closely the whole rearmament program with the campaign in Korea. The *Monde* of Paris asserts:

> Official propaganda has made the error of tying up rearmament too closely with the war in Korea. On the broader plane, even a superficial *détente* between the East and the West will undoubtedly force the partners in the Atlantic Alliance to re-define more clearly their goals and methods. Moreover, while the defense against Korean aggression was a relatively simple objective, the effort to achieve a clearer definition of peace aims will threaten to bring to the fore the more serious divergences.

The point is not that the Russians really expected that Atlantic unity will be broken and unmade by a period of phony *détente cordiale*. It is that the nature of the unison may be changed, twisted, deformed. The answer to the Soviet strategy is an effort to achieve peace aims that can be shared not only on both sides of the Atlantic but by all social classes in the European countries in which peace still means for many men the equivalent of the material privations of war.

Paris PERCY WINNER

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HOUSING: A VANISHING VISION

III. The Real-Estate Lobby's "Road Show"

by Harry Conn

IN THEIR unrelenting fight against public housing, real-estate operators are shifting much of their attention from Washington and putting their show on the road. In cities and towns throughout the nation, they are deep in drives to block the public-housing program, importing high-priced performers and shipping packaged public-relations campaigns for use by local talent.

Each of the complicated steps required for completion of a public-housing project offers a choice target for sabotage. The success of anti-public-housing forces in hitting these bull's-eyes is attested by the results; as of June 30, only 2,542 units have been completed out of 488,656 originally sought by 1,011 communities. According to the Public Housing Agency, construction has begun on 88,317 additional units in 353 localities. In PHA terminology, however, "under construction" really means that "notice to proceed" has been given by Washington. Obstacles can still be devised after that stage.

The real-estate lobby has won 25 of 38 local referendums on public housing which real-estate interests have been able to force thus far. It is true that the lobby is exceptionally strong in all these localities; however, the real-estate men insist that their techniques have now been so well perfected that in the future this performance can easily be repeated almost anywhere. The lobbies' present problem is how to stage more referendums. Legislation requiring them has been passed in Texas, Nebraska and Minnesota. The Illinois legislature has passed a bill calling for local referendums but Gov. Adlai Stevenson has not acted on it. In California, the opponents of public housing won a statewide vote designed to require referendums. The lobby is now working zealously for such legislation in other states.

Where they have failed to secure referendums, the real-estate operators have stirred their agile brains, or merely their connections and powers, to place new obstacles in the way of public housing.

In Elizabeth, N. J., after the city council had accepted a co-operation agreement with the local housing authority, it reconsidered and voted to refuse the preliminary loan of $200,000 to lay the plans. One of the city council members who voted "no" in that four-to-four vote was an official of the Elizabeth Housing Authority.

In Miami, Fla., after the voters had cast their ballots in favor of public housing and slum clearance, a legal block was imposed. The owners of the slums, many of whom were prominent officials of Dade County, including two Circuit Court judges, the judge of the Court of Crimes and the Dean of the Dade County Bar Association, went to work. On February 13, 1951, the Supreme Court of Florida rendered a decision that the caption used on the ballot did not give sufficient notice to the voters as to what they were voting on, although both the city manager and the city attorney stated that the caption was as full and complete as the caption on any bond issue or any other matter that had ever been put before the electorate. A second referendum will be held next November.

In Texas, the House and Property Owners Alliance, a part of the real-estate lobby, has offered public-relations jobs at $6,000 a year to 75 "selected" members of the state House, almost one-half of the total. They will fight public housing and rent control. "Legislators have great possibilities as public-relations men," the head of the Alliance told a Houston reporter.

But the real-estate interests are not content with this success in communities throughout the country. Some public housing is being constructed. The real-estate lobby has grown accustomed to the brand of success it has had in Washington, where the House voted to cut even the inadequate Senate authorization of 50,000 public units down to a pitiful 5,000.

The fight over public housing takes on a strikingly similar pattern from one locality to another. In the forefront, on the positive side, are always to be found the church and civic groups, trade unions and veterans' organizations. From time to time they are able to persuade individual building or real-estate firms of the justice of their cause. But in the opposition camp are always the determined and powerful few: The National Association of Real Estate Boards, the National Association of Home Builders, the United States Savings and Loan League or other of the interest organizations in the 18-member real-estate lobby. In addition, taking a page from the devious activities of the Communists, there are likely to be some high-sounding front groups purportedly concerned with saving the American home or preserving free enterprise or defending the taxpayers.

A general survey of the advertisements carried against public housing in newspapers, on billboards and on the

Harry Conn is a member of the staff of the Public Affairs Institute in Washington. This is the third in a series of articles.

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air offer conclusive evidence that the opposition campaigns are being packaged and shipped in from outside the area. Identical slogans appear everywhere. In Flint, Mich., Niagara Falls, N. Y., and Savannah, Ga., for instance, the lobby used the theme: "Political Housing Is NOT 'Free Federal Money'. You Have to Pay for It." In Lubbock, Texas, and Roanoke, Va., "There Are Too Many 'Jokers' in the Public-Housing Deal!" was the line. And in Portland, Ore., and Little Rock, Ark., they asked "Can You Afford to Pay Somebody Else's Rent?"

An amusing repetition is seen across the country in "personal" statements and letters to newspapers. Some months ago William H. Michels, in a letter to the Houston *Post*, wrote: ". . . Your homes are the first target of Socialism," and "when Socialism moves in, things get tough for the home owner. Look what has happened in other countries." The opinions in this letter are absolutely identical with the reasons given in the Valdosta *Times* by the Valdosta, Ga., Real Estate Board, some one thousand miles away, for opposing public housing.

Packaged programs, campaign kits and key eleventh-hour phone calls are not always relied upon. Various Washington real-estate-lobby officials often go to the scene of action. Frank Cortright, executive vice-president of the National Association of Home Builders, was reported in Beaumont, Texas, last year during the referendum. He has also spent considerable time in Madison, Wis., trying to force a referendum. Calvin Snyder, executive secretary of the Washington Realtors' Committee of the National Association of Real Estate Boards, was reported in action in Savannah, Ga., and led a successful fight against public housing in Jacksonville, Fla. Another NAREB Washington lobbyist, Albert A. Payne, was given a rough reception in Roanoke, Va., last year when he undertook to become a spokesman against public housing. "The people of Roanoke can run their own city without getting foreigners to come down here," he was told by a city councilman.

A new form of fight against public housing was unveiled in Dallas, Texas, on July 3. The city council, meeting in closed session, adopted a resolution saying that three war-temporary-housing projects, consisting of 2,681 dwelling units and mostly housing veterans of World War II and their families, are no longer needed and are "in direct and destructive competition with every vacant dwelling in Dallas." Attending this closed meeting were W. H. Cothrum, the largest owner of rental housing in Dallas; his Washington attorney, Daniel L. O'Connor; and Roland Pelt, another major property owner in Dallas. The request to destroy these units, most of which are in very good condition, is now in the hands of the Federal Housing and Home Finance Agency.

Attorney O'Connor charges that there is "an acute housing surplus" in Dallas and that most of the families should have no trouble renting private dwellings. He cites the 1950 Census report to show that there are 10,900 vacant dwelling units in Dallas. O'Connor failed to mention that only 6,300 of these units are actually in the city of Dallas and that 3,800 of these are dilapidated or considered non-seasonable. And of this number, many lack hot and cold running water, flush toilets and other conveniences present in the "emergency" homes the council wants to destroy. In addition, the sale or rent prices of such vacant dwellings as these are, generally, far beyond the pocketbooks of these families.

"When you boil these Dallas figures down to reality," an official of the PHA states, "this means less than a three-percent rental vacancy factor, considered just enough to handle the normal turnover. It cannot handle several thousand additional demands."

At the same time, in Los Angeles, the real-estate interests and the landlords are using similar arguments in their battle against the construction of new low-rent public-housing units.

"We have a housing surplus here, not a shortage," says James M. Udall, a local realtor and a director of the Apartment Association of Los Angeles County, Inc., in an argument which sounds strangely like that of lawyer O'Connor in relation to Dallas. Actually, according to the Census housing survey, Los Angeles has 59,000 substandard housing units of which 38.2 percent are considered to be so "rundown or neglected or of inadequate original construction [as] not [to] provide adequate shelter or protection against the elements [and to] endanger the safety of the occupants." The secretary-treasurer of the Los Angeles CIO in a letter to Rep. Samuel W. Yorty added that: "One out of three of them [families in substandard houses] pays 20 percent or more of the family income for shelter, and one out of seven goes to the extreme length of paying 35 percent or more." . . .

On the basis of a study made in February, 1950, by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, Los Angeles had a habitable and non-seasonable vacancy rate of 1.7 percent, and only .9 percent of those houses were for rent.

Yet in Los Angeles, Dallas, Washington and throughout the country, official and unofficial representatives of the real-estate lobby are finding their own devious ways of interpreting Census results. They are making their own surveys and using other tricky methods to "prove" that there is an "acute housing surplus" and that people living in slums, hovels and rental dwellings beyond their means are just a myth.

Just how effectively the public-interest groups seeking decent housing fight back will be discussed next.

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VIET NAM HAS A THIRD FORCE

by Sol Sanders

DESPITE the events of the past six years, the myth persists in left-wing circles in New York, Washington, London and Paris and, unfortunately for Asia, in New Delhi, as well, that the struggle in Indo-China is solely between the French Colonialists and an all-national front led by the Stalinists.

Nothing could be further from the truth.

The Stalinists are there, without doubt. Today, after years of in-fighting, the Kremlin's agents control every important post in the government of not-so-Titoist Ho Chi-minh, the "Democratic Republic of Viet Nam."

The Colonialists are there—and in strength. It is enough to point out that the bitterly anti-American M. Gautier, Vichyite collaborator of Admiral Decoux during his regime from 1940 to 1945, is back again as righthand political adviser to Gen. de Lattre de Tassigny.

But grouped around the former Annamese Emperor Bao Dai, now chief of state of the French-sponsored Viet Nam "within the French Union," is another force. Beneath the layers of opportunists, French spies and hangers-on there is a hard nucleus of patriots who are fighting for a truly independent, libertarian Viet Nam.

Who are these people and why haven't they been heard from by the West?

One hundred years of brutal French repression of national feeling in Viet Nam have produced a xenophobia more virulent than anywhere else in Asia (with, perhaps, the exception of China). Unlike their Stalinist enemies in the Viet Minh, whose government councils are carried on in French or Mandarin (Chinese), many of them speak only a little French and no English. The passing journalist who spends two weeks in Saigon or Hanoi with American Embassy officials rarely sees them.

Many of these "nationalists," as they are known even in Viet Minh circles, live in constant physical danger. Viet Minh victory in Indo-China would mean the firing squad; meanwhile there is always the danger of a Viet Minh assassination. And the French have long considered them their second—if not their first—enemy. In the immediate postwar period, the French armed the Viet Minh police in Hanoi who on several occasions shot down anti-Stalinist nationalist demonstrators. Even now, the French fear an alliance between these Vietnamese elements and the Americans, which would crush the Viet Minh, but which would at the same time end French monopoly-capitalism in Indo-China.

Sol Sanders, who comes from North Carolina and is a graduate in journalism of the University of Missouri, recently returned to his home in New York after two years in Southeast Asia where he covered Indo-China, Thailand, Malaya and Indonesia for the Hindu (Madras).

There is no nationalist line, as there is a Viet Minh-Stalinist line enunciated by the Viet Minh radio and Peking. Within the broad general outlines of anti-Stalinism and nationalism, there is room for a great divergence of opinion. The force draws from such varied groups as Indo-China's three million Roman Catholics; the Dai Viets, a semi-secret society and political party; the Hoa Hao, a reformist Buddhist movement; the Viet Nam Quoc (Z) Dan Dang, a nationalist revolutionary party based on the teachings of China's Sun Yat-sen; the League of Viet Nam Revolutionaries, a group—largely still in exile from the French—in Hong Kong; and the Cao Dai, a religious group.

Recent press reports from Saigon indicate a sizable group of the Cao Dai—including its military chief-of-staff and a number of troops, perhaps the best-trained Vietnamese in Indo-China — have gone over to the Viet Minh. This news illustrates the deteriorating political situation in Viet Nam which belies the present military calm. The Cao Dai-ists are anti-Communists by the very nature of their movement and because great numbers of their group were slaughtered in North Viet Nam immediately after the Japanese surrender on accusation by the Viet Minh of collaboration with Japanese Fascism.

But to mention these organizations is to deceive the reader about conditions in Viet Nam. Outside the Communist Party hardly any other political movement exists. The Stalinists tolerate no rival organizations in the territory controlled by the Viet Minh. And the French are quick to crush any organization in the region nominally controlled by Bao Dai's Government which threatens to put an end to the farce of the present "independence." They recently purged the efficient government of North Viet Nam for this reason.

The anti-Stalinist force in Viet Nam is largely based on individual rather than group organization. Such an example is that of one of my friends in Hanoi, imprisoned four times since 1939 for revolutionary activity: first by the French in 1940, then by the Japanese in 1944, then by the Viet Minh regime in 1945 and again by the French in 1946. Or like another friend, who as a secretary in Ho Chi-minh's office in 1945 and 1946 saw with his own eyes the brutality, the cynicism and the terror of Stalinism during the Viet Minh's 16 months' rule of North Viet Nam.

These people are what in "sophisticated" circles—French Socialist as well as Stalinist—are called "bourgeois

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nationalists." In Western Europe, Socialists long ago found out that they had more in common with democrats, whatever their economic theories, than with totalitarians, whether they called themselves Marxists or Fascists. The Nationalists lost out to the Viet Minh during their running battles of 1945 and 1946, in no small part because of the treachery of the French and the Chinese Nationalists who occupied the northern half of Indo-China. When the end came, perhaps it was weakness which led the Nationalist Nguyen Hai-than to refuse to allow his followers to carry out an assassination plot against Ho Chi-minh. But it might have also been that he saw morality as the essential difference between his followers and the Stalinists.

There is a great whispering campaign in Indo-China and in France about the tremendous amounts of money which Vietnamese officials of the present regime are sending out of the country to France and the United States. In six months in Indo-China, I saw no concrete evidence for these stories, although I believe they are in part true. The irony is that the French Colonialists should be propagating them. It is the French corps of functionaries in Indo-China which has been the most at fault in this respect. Can anyone forget the sorry spectacle of two French generals selling the military plans of the French army against the Viet Minh to commercial spies in Saigon? The simplest and easiest way to stop this export of capital from Indo-China would be for the French to publish international balance-of-payments figures for the "Three Associated States in the French Union." Then, the world might get a chance to judge the present Viet Nam Government for itself—and, incidentally, to find out just what the profits of French companies operating in Indo-China are. France is the only important country which does not publish these figures for her Asian dependencies.

One of the favorite parlor sports of little minds in Saigon and Paris is talking about the latest Bao Dai scandal. The 37-year-old emperor is a lot of things. He is undoubtedly a playboy; he likes to spend money; he drinks and "plays" too much. But there is certainly another side to his character and his story. Bred (by the French) to be a spoiled boy, psychotically shy, he has been thrust into a position where he must defend his people against an external threat of Communist imperialism masquerading as genuine national feeling against the French. And his position has placed him in direct competition to one of the shrewdest figures in world Communism, Ho Chi-minh, who, whether or not he still lives and directs the Stalinists in Indo-China, nevertheless has become a legend, backed by a powerful propaganda machine unequaled in any other country save by that of Stalin in Russia itself.

This is Bao Dai's job. Yet what are his tools? The French, at a time when every other Western nation has recognized it, refuse to understand the simple proposition that only genuine national feeling can beat Stalinism in Asia and persist in trying to reinstate a semi-colonial regime. For example, while every military observer sees the problem in Indo-China as one of manpower, the French try to recruit a "national" Vietnamese army by scattering them among existing French units. Such mercenaries cannot be expected to stand up against fanatically indoctrinated Stalinist forces.

Washington, so quick to jump to recognition of the Bao Dai regime under the French so-called transfer of sovereignty, is of no more help. At the time Bao Dai was trying to create a government of national unity earlier this year—jettisoning the notorious French puppet Premier Tran Van Huu—American Minister to Viet Nam, Donald Heath, told a Washington television audience that the issue of Colonialism was dead in Indo-China. At that moment, de Lattre had gone to Dalat to present Bao Dai with an ultimatum as to who could and who could not be appointed to the new cabinet.

Much has been written about Bao Dai's fabulous living. Again the French have never given any figures, but it is extremely doubtful that Bao Dai's private income (apparently apportioned on a week-to-week basis by the French to keep him in line) is as large as that of any other chief of state of a nation of 23 million.

The French Colonialists talk a good deal about their subsidies to the Vietnamese Government. But according to last year's budget for the three states of Indo-China released early this year, the Vietnamese Government paid its own way out of revenues collected from taxes and import duties. (That figure was exclusive of the salaries of High Commissioner Leon Pignon and other high French Government officials in Indo-China. And it does not, of course, include the cost of French military operations in Indo-China.)

No reasonable Vietnamese — and certainly not this writer, who has seen young Frenchmen, North Africans, Germans and Vietnamese dying gallantly and sometimes tragically in North Viet Nam for the anti-Communist cause—underestimates the sacrifice of the French. But that sacrifice will be made for nothing if Paris and Washington do not realize the facts in Asia: There is no room in South Asia for Westerners except what our non-Communist friends want to give us. Bao Dai's regime, cleansed of the French-supported parasites that now infest it, can still rally to our side the Viet Nam's people who are sick of war and afraid of Stalinism. But it cannot do so until there is new understanding in Paris, and real encouragement from Washington.

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SWEATSHOPS ON THE FARM

by Jean Begeman

A GROUP of wealthy farm owners has lobbied through Congress a bill that legalizes cheap Mexican labor and permits the exploitation of "wetbacks" to continue without penalty. When President Truman reluctantly signed the bill on July 13, he admitted that the new law "hardly touches" our basic farm-labor problem—the steady stream of illegal immigrants from Mexico who cross the Rio Grande in phenomenal numbers at an increasing rate.

"Everyone suffers from the presence of these illegal immigrants in the community," the President said. "They themselves are hurt, first of all. Our own workers—as well as the legal contract workers from Mexico—are hurt by the lowering of working and living standards. . . . The presence of these illegal workers has a seriously depressing effect on wages and working conditions in farm areas throughout the Southwest. . . . The standards of living and job opportunities of American farm workers are under constant downward pressure. . . ."

Last month, while Congress was debating legislation on the importation of Mexican labor, a tense situation in California should have convinced the lawmakers of the need for a new approach to the farm-labor problem. In the rich Imperial Valley of California wetbacks and contract laborers (those who are brought into this country to supplement our labor force under an agreement between the US and Mexico) were being used to break a strike of organized farm workers. The Imperial Valley, a 40-square-mile area where vegetable and fruit crops worth $100 million are produced each year, is controlled by 489 wealthy growers and shippers who own 70 percent of the productive land. On May 24, 6,000 National Farm Labor Union (AFL) members, many of whom are Americans of Mexican descent, went on strike against the wetback labor conditions imposed upon them by the Imperial Valley Farmers' Association. The union demands included preferential hiring of American workers (prior to employment of any Mexican national, legally or illegally in the US); an immediate wage increase to the state's average farm-labor pay of $1 an hour (the farm owners have kept the wage down to 60 cents in the Valley through the use of imported migrants); and a union contract setting forth terms and conditions of employment for American workers.

The NFLU protested the use of wetbacks on one of the largest farms in the Valley owned by Frank O'Dwyer, brother of the Mexican Ambassador, William O'Dwyer, and Keith Mets, president of the Imperial Valley Farmers' Association. The US Immigrant Service ordered border patrolmen to raid the O'Dwyer farm, and 300 wetbacks out of a crew of 380 were apprehended and deported. However, throughout the strike, contract nationals were allowed to remain on Valley farms, despite the NFLU picket lines. The union complained to the Department of Labor that the big owners were using imported labor as strike breakers—a violation of the terms of the International Agreement between the US and Mexico which clearly states that in the event of a labor dispute such workers are to be transferred to other employment or returned to Mexico.

Secretary of Labor Maurice Tobin was called upon to remove the Mexican contract nationals. When he refused to act, the NFLU threatened to file a writ-of-mandamus suit in the US District Court requiring him to show cause why he should not carry out his duties under the International Agreement. Tobin then called a meeting on May 29 at which he said he would not act until the union submitted a list of its members who were on strike against individual employers. To reveal the names of striking members would in effect furnish a blacklist to employers. The union refused. Finally, in June, Tobin called for a special investigation and on June 23 ordered the removal of Mexican nationals from three farms (where, by that time, all the crops had been harvested); he reported that no evidence of violation was found on two others, one of which was the O'Dwyer-Mets ranch. One of the big farmers boasted that Ambassador O'Dwyer had promised that he would do everything in his power to prevent the removal of contract workers until the strike was broken.

While other technicalities gave the Labor Department an excuse to stall further investigation, Secretary Tobin left for the International Labor Organization's Conference at Geneva, and to take his family, on a military plane at government expense, for a personal audience with the Pope and a visit to his ancestral homeland, Ireland, on the way. On June 25, the NFLU was forced to suspend the strike. Although the big farmers had harvested only half of their melons and cantaloupes with imported scabs, they still reaped huge profits on the Eastern markets because the production cut pushed the prices to a record level.

Five days after the strike was broken, Congress passed the bill which offers no more safeguard to American workers than the old law. It does provide that Mexican workers may not legally be brought into this country

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unless the Secretary of Labor certifies a real shortage of domestic workers and that the employment of Mexican contract labor must not adversely affect wages or working conditions of domestic workers. But, as President Truman states in his message, "These safeguards have little meaning so long as illegal immigration continues."

Wetback traffic, based on the number of illegal workers apprehended and deported, increased from 29,000 in 1944 to 564,000 in 1950. The President's Commission on Migratory Labor, after a year-long investigation, found that the farmers using the illegal Mexican laborers provide "virtually no housing, sanitary facilities or other conditions of civilized living. . . . Once on the US side of the border and on the farm, numerous devices are employed to keep the wetback on the job. Basic to all these devices is the fact that the wetback is a person of legal disability who is under jeopardy of immediate deportation if caught. He is told that if he leaves the farm, he will be reported to the Immigration Service. . . . To assure that he will stay until his services are no longer needed, his pay, or some portion thereof, frequently is held back." The commission recommended that the Immigration Service be given clear statutory authority to enter places of employment to determine if illegal aliens are employed and that legislation be enacted making it unlawful to employ aliens illegally in the US.

Congress completely ignored the findings and recommendations of the commission. A Senate amendment, introduced by Sen. Paul Douglas (D, Ill.), which would have provided a maximum penalty of one year of imprisonment and a fine of $2,000 for hiring a Mexican "reasonably" suspected of being in this country illegally, was eliminated by the House. During the debate, lobbyists representing the Farm Bureau Federation, the National Grange, the National Cotton Council and a score of "Farmers Associations" (so many, in fact, that one observer commented that the corporation farmers must have more "fronts" than the Communist Party) swarmed outside the House cloakroom. Former Rep. Stephen Pace of Georgia, who served on the House Agriculture Committee for 12 years, used the Congressional privilege to visit the floor granted former members to lobby for the National Cotton Council. His coaching of members on vital amendments became so obvious that Rep. Eugene McCarthy (D, Minn.) protested to the presiding officer, and the chair quietly ordered Pace off the floor.

Republicans from states employing little or no migratory labor joined Southern and Western Democrats to defeat all amendments that would strengthen the bill. The cotton and vegetable growers were given Congressional permission to hire wetbacks who have resided in the US for five years or more. The bill also allows Mexican nationals to be employed in food processing plants, which both the CIO and AFL have charged would hurt American workers. CIO President Philip Murray, in a letter to the President asking him to veto the bill, said that it would open the door for a large supply of "cheap" labor in canning factories (where union organization is just getting started) and "will encourage backward-looking employers to continue substandard wages and other conditions which are far below the American standard of living." President Truman concurred with this view and requested that Congress repeal that section.

Employers, under the new law, can pay only $15 per worker for recruitment, transportation and subsistence to and from the recruitment center, despite the fact that Labor Department statistics showed an average cost in the past of $34 per worker. The government will have to pay the difference—a thinly disguised subsidy for large-scale operators and food processors. The employer is not even required to post a penalty bond to insure that the Mexican worker will return. If he skips, the government must pay the cost of deportation. The new law, in effect, serves to legalize the wetbacks already here and to bring in more of these poverty-stricken people.

The Farmers Union, the NFLU and other labor groups opposed the bill not only because it will continue exploitation of cheap Mexican labor but also because it offers no protection at all for American migrant workers who depend on harvest work for a living. The labor groups are in agreement with President Truman's four recommendations for supplemental legislation: (a) criminal penalties for US citizens who smuggle, harbor, conceal or transport wetbacks; (b) additional funds for the Immigration Service to expand its border-guard staff in the Southwest; (c) Immigration Service authority to inspect without warrant where wetbacks are believed to be working; (d) more funds to enable the Labor Department's Farm Placement Service to survey labor market needs and recruit workers legally.

The President's commission put the basic issue in these terms:

> Shall we continue indefinitely to have low work standards and conditions of employment in agriculture, thus depending on the underprivileged and the unfortunate at home and abroad to supply and replenish our seasonal and migratory work forces? Or shall we do in agriculture what we already have done in other sectors of our economy—create honest-to-goodness jobs which will offer a decent living so that domestic workers, without being forced by dire necessity, will be willing to stay in agriculture and become a dependable labor supply?

Until Congress strengthens the new law, this issue will remain unresolved and the "good-neighbor" policy in the Western Hemisphere will continue to be weakened.

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HAROLD L. ICKES: *Newsman Say, "Fade Away"*

GENERAL MACARTHUR has already proved the accuracy of his ham statement that an old soldier "j-u-s-t f-a-d-e-s a-w-a-y." An article in the *Saturday Review of Literature* for July 14 presents the fairest and most objective treatment of the Truman-MacArthur controversy that I have read. It is by Elmo Roper and Louis Harris and is entitled "The Press and the Great Debate." However, it was not the press, *per se*, that the experienced Roper polled. Fortunately, the testing was not of newspapers but of correspondents, and the groups selected were those assigned to Tokyo and Korea, Washington and the United Nations. When it comes to a judgment on public affairs, I would rather have that of able and experienced newspaper correspondents, if left free by their papers to give their unbiased opinions, than that of any other group that I can think of.

Here was a sampling of informed public opinion as distinguished from a mere hit-and-miss testing which may, and often does, express a spate of prejudice or hysteria, or at best snap judgment, that tomorrow's more sober judgment may completely invalidate. If, as the article states, "the overwhelming majority of the American press corps . . . is convinced of the soundness of the Truman decision to recall MacArthur," that conviction is all the more impressive "if a common feeling prevailed among Washington correspondents . . . that Truman fired MacArthur none too soon." Nor is the verdict of the correspondents weakened by the feeling many had that "the removal was pitifully clumsy and left unnecessary scars." As Hugh Schuck of the New York *Daily News* put it, "Right, but very wrong in method."

Another refreshing characteristic of the Roper-Harris article is that down-to-earth correspondents apparently do not concur in such hysterical emotionalism as that of Rep. Dewey Short of Missouri who, after MacArthur's appearance before Congress, exclaimed, "We heard God speaking here today, God in the flesh, the voice of God." Incidentally, Herbert Hoover, a sobersides, if there ever was one, spoke of the "God-like" one as "a reincarnation of St. Paul."

Correspondents, especially those covering Korea and Japan, gave such reasons for their criticism of MacArthur as "his Yalu River mistake; his one-man show; his complete non-concern over the morale of his troops; his waiting until the last minute [which] forced [him] to take precipitate action under pressure of immediate circumstances; his lack of full competence in the military handling of the fighting in Korea; [and his creation of] a serious division among allied powers." . . . Of the correspondents polled in Korea, 52 percent thought that the morale of the United Nations troops had not changed as a result of the MacArthur recall. Significantly, 30 percent believed morale had been boosted.

In their analysis of the replies received, Roper and Harris concluded: "It is evident that at least half [of] those who say morale is unchanged believe that the decisive change for the better . . . took place not in April when MacArthur was removed, but in December and January when General Ridgway took over the Eighth Army." One reporter said: "Morale of American troops reached a nadir in January. We had there a defeated, demoralized army, running south and had no aim but to get out. Ridgway in January and February revitalized it, turned it around. By the time MacArthur was recalled he was no longer a factor in morale." Another reporter wrote: "There is great respect for Ridgway. MacArthur is as controversial in the foxholes as he is in Washington."

Of the correspondents polled at the UN, Americans in the proportion of 87 percent said that "Truman was right," and these were supported by 86 percent of non-American correspondents. Significantly, 77 percent of the American correspondents at the UN and 82 percent of the non-Americans were of the opinion that "efforts of non-Communist nations at the UN to work together were enhanced by the recall."

As to the final acceptance or rejection of President Truman's action in recalling MacArthur, of the total UN and Washington correspondents polled, 72 percent believed that the American people finally will approve, while only 16 percent were of the opinion that they would not. As one reporter said, "The public is already recovering from its mass hysteria. . . ." And to quote George Hall of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, "We have to assume that the people are not fools."

A horse of another color is an article "The Story of Douglas MacArthur" by Richard Rovere and Arthur Schlesinger Jr. which appeared in *Harper's Magazine* for July. Coming as it did from these well-known writers, one had the right to assume that their analysis would be objective and penetrating. This undoubtedly was their intention, but in trying to assess the MacArthur myth, they unconsciously yielded to its mesmeric power. However, they do not prostrate themselves before a "Dewey Short" god; merely a fetish. HAROLD L. ICKES

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

THE MEMOIRS OF AN AGILE BANKER

by Basil Rauch

WHEN Marriner S. Eccles went to Washington in 1934 he was distinguishable in several remarkable ways from the ruck of young brighties then assembling around Roosevelt. He was not a social worker or a professor but a banker and industrial capitalist who had met every demand of depositors during the banking crisis and innumerable payrolls throughout the depression. Nor was he one of Roosevelt's tame capitalists. His program of economic policy during his sixteen years on the Federal Reserve Board—programs designed to meet the fiscal, banking and monetary problems of the successive epochs of depression, recovery, recession, partial recovery, defense, war, postwar inflation and again defense and war—were uniformly too radical for Roosevelt, Truman and their motley companies. And Eccles certainly was no politician. Time and again he defied politicians and their rules, risking loss of office for the sake of a principle, until Truman finally proved himself equal to the challenge.

BECKONING FRONTIERS: PUBLIC AND PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS, by Marriner S. Eccles. Edited by Sidney Hyman (Knopf; $5).

If we knew how such public servants get that way, perhaps we could do something about producing more of them. Eccles' autobiography is a magnificent document on New Deal and Fair Deal economic policy, but it does little to help us understand how Saul became Paul. We are asked to believe that the forty-year-old Mormon banker was converted to compensatory economic theory by "naked-eye observation and experience" without benefit of Keynes: "I have never read Keynes's writings except in small extracts up to this day."

Or maybe we are too much impressed by the metaphysics of economists. As Eccles describes it, compensatory theory is nothing more than plain common sense, and so we might take him as one more in the great line of American inventors and discoverers who do not know what philosophers mean by pragmatism.

Politicians who understood how the common sense of national policy must be accommodated to the nonsense of class, sectional, party and bureaucratic interests prevented Eccles' programs from being carried out with the consistency and rigor essential to compensatory theory. What Eccles wanted was a flexibility that would permit quick reversals, for example, when recovery after a depression threatens to cross the line to inflation, from channeling purchasing power into the hands of labor to freezing wages, from multiplying bankers' credit to restricting it, from Federal Reserve support of Treasury bond prices to abandonment of them to the chances of the market. Such reversals require Congressmen and Administration leaders to shift nimbly from what their constituents regard as a pro-labor stand to an anti-labor one, from anti-business to pro-business, and they require Treasury officials on occasion to yield power. The story Eccles tells of his failures to convince sectors of the public, Congressmen and bureaucrats that their short-term exclusive interests sometimes contradict their long-term common interests is a sad one.

He offers no solution for this dilemma of a democracy that must engage in national economic planning to preserve freedom of enterprise as well as all other freedoms. But the minimum implication of his story is inescapable that authority to determine national economic policy independently of Congress and the Executive must be given by them to a body which will co-ordinate the policies of at least the Federal Reserve Board, the Comptroller of the Currency and the Secretary of the Treasury. We have now reached a time when enough Congressmen and Executive officials pay lip service to compensatory theory to make it inexcusable that overlapping authorities prevent coherence of government action even in the areas of fiscal, monetary and banking policy. If we continue to rock along as in the past, it will take another depression to force forward steps toward effective national economic planning.

Eccles' book is an invaluable guide to the reasons for the failures of the New Deal to end unemployment and of the Fair Deal to prevent inflation. The famous Roosevelt genius for combining the ideas of braintrusters into fruity sundaes of policy seemed dangerous when Eccles goaded him to adopt an idea that cannot successfully be compromised and Roosevelt compromised it anyway. The softness of Truman to cronies like Secretary of the Treasury Snyder is exposed as possibly sinister in such a combination of influences as brought the Giannini banking interests, under investigation by the Federal Reserve for monopoly practices, into the play that squeezed Eccles out of office.

Eccles parades no martyr's wounds; in fact his book is unsatisfying on the side of his own as well as others' personalities. He has made an economic policy the hero of his story. That its history is understandable to the layman is a triumph of writing for which one suspects he is more responsible than his "editor," because popularization of compensatory theory was one of Eccles' great public services.

His book tells more of what is permanently important in the economic history of the Roosevelt and Truman Administrations than any other memoir. Other books will give him his due as the hero of that story.

Basil Rauch, associate professor of History at Barnard College, is the author of The History of the New Deal *and* Roosevelt: From Munich to Pearl Harbor.

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SCIENCE IS ALL

TESTAMENT FOR SOCIAL SCIENCE, by Barbara Wootton (Norton; $3).

THE AUTHOR OF THIS lucid and courageous presentation of the claims of science as the key to all human problems is professor of Social Studies in the University of London; she is a recognized economist and a vigorous writer. Thus her qualifications are of a high order, and the book is impressive in its combination of technical competence with simplicity and eloquence.

Mrs. Wootton points the familiar contrast between our mastery of material things and our confusion in other areas of life. From this she argues that scientific methods of thought must somehow be brought to bear on human relations. Does the conclusion follow? One might suggest, on the contrary, that the spread of science has itself been responsible for some of the conflicts that more science is called upon to resolve. When emotion is driven out of the world of nature, it may assert itself with greater insistence elsewhere. "The double goal of mental and physical health" that Mrs. Wootton offers is attractive, but one wonders if it may not be somewhat over-rational, negative, and perhaps even deadening. She reveals a certain resentment of emotion as disorderly, disturbing, unsuitable to the laboratory. It is not denied, but it must be brought to heel. "Given time then, and the use of methods at once more refined and more rigorous than those now generally used, we may reasonably hope to see the arts yield up many of their secrets to science. . . . Certainly, if we could know more about making statues like those of Praxiteles, London and other great cities might be more agreeable places in which to live." Is it obvious that people want great art, or would be happier if more of it were provided for them in this passive way? Is it even obvious that the function of art is to make living *agreeable?* The social scientist's dream, on this showing, would reduce life to recreation —two hours in the factory followed by ten hours of bridge according to foolproof formulas.

Here is the crux of the matter. Do we know, in general, what we want—and fail to get it only because we have not yet discovered the proper means? Or is it our problem exactly that we are not clear what it is that we do want? (As communities, we may be even less clear, since the vaguely felt wants of various individuals are likely to be in conflict.) Mrs. Wootton turns away from such questions, but in doing so she reflects the philosophical attitude implied in most recent work in social science. Her version of this attitude is an admirable one. ALFRED SHERRARD

Alfred Sherrard, associate professor of Economics at American University, has been an economist with the OSS, the Federal Reserve Board and 'other government agencies. His present work is concerned mainly with the philosophical implications of economic theory.

VIRGIL DISCOVERED

THE AENEID OF VIRGIL: A VERSE TRANSLATION by Rolfe Humphries (Scribner's; $3.50).

IN HIS Introduction, Rolfe Humphries calls his translation "a quick and unscrupulous job." His humility is refreshing, but his judgment is too harsh. Of quickness, indeed, there are some traces: a certain sloppiness of versification, an occasional lapse in taste; but the work is scrupulous, without being pedantic, in its attention to the curious alterations of pitch and pace which characterize the Virgilian tone, and it succeeds remarkably well in recreating them.

The most engaging quality of this new version is its fresh unpretentiousness. Virgil is more difficult to translate than Homer because the Roman is, among other things, a consummate and entirely conscious rhetorician. The translator is constantly being tempted to go splendid, or to swoon into the famous Virgilian melancholy. Humphries beautifully avoids both pomposity and sentimentality. His five-stress verse is relaxed, fluent; his diction is clear and unaffected. Here you will find none of the ridiculous ghosts that haunt the conventional translations of the classics: the second-person-singular pronoun, the verb-forms in *-st* and *-eth*, the false vocabulary lifted out of William Morris at his medieval worst. In other words, we are able to see the poem in our own language, with our own eyes.

Is it Virgil's poem? No; it could not be. The *Aeneid* exists only in Latin. But it is closer to Virgil's poem than any other English version that I know. The next most readable, I should say, is Conington's verse translation: but Conington, for all his dexterity, too often sounds like *The Lays of Ancient Rome.* Humphries has tried "to make [the *Aeneid*] sound to you, wherever I can, the way it feels to me": which is the most that any faithful translator can hope to do. If a certain elevation must be sacrificed, is not this preferable to wallowing in a pseudo-Tennysonian rhetoric? And if Humphries' easy style is frequently colloquial and occasionally something worse, I can bear this in the interests of a greater vivacity and hence fidelity. True, Sinon the Greek *is* made to say "I am stalling," which I scarcely find in *quidve moror?*; and "I am done for" is a strange rendering of the dying words of Camilla in Book XI—it sounds more like something out of Plautus, whereas the original demands an equivalent of "The rest is silence." But to compensate for these lapses there is an abundance of little masterpieces, such as

A shifty, fickle object
Is woman, always

for

varium et mutabile semper
femina,

where it is to be noted that the translator has not only reproduced the exact tone of the original (the contemptuous neuter pronouns come wonderfully to life in "object") but has also managed to preserve the verse-pattern of the Latin.

A man who picks up a translation of a great poem with which he is familiar usually begins by turning to what Arnold called the "touchstones"—those famous passages of fatal poetry. It is an unfair business, because it is precisely in these passages that the translator is most sorely tested. And it is here, indeed, that this *Aeneid* comes closest to failure. The lament for young Marcellus in Book VI is untranslatable, of course; but—

Heu miserande puer! si qua fata
aspera rumpas,

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tu Marcellus eris. Manibus date lilia plenis,
purpureos spargam flores

deserves something less flat than

Poor boy,
If you should break the cruel fates; if only—
You are to be Marcellus. Let me scatter Lilies, or dark-red flowers . . .

and so it is with Dido's tremendous line: *Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor!*, which is domesticated to *Rise from my bones, O great unknown avenger*; which is almost literal in its fidelity, and somehow utterly false. And so it is in a handful of other places. But having said this, I have said as much as I honestly can about the deficiencies of Humphries' *Aeneid*. It is an admirable job, and the translator has "deserved well of the state," as the Roman formula had it, for recovering from the darkness another ancient classic.

DUDLEY FITTS

Dudley Fitts, Cochran Instructor in English at Phillips Academy, Andover, is a poet and critic. He is the translator, with Robert Fitzgerald, of plays by Sophocles and Euripedes.

THE CAPTIVE INSTANT

THE WATCH, by Carlo Levi. Translated from the Italian (Farrar, Straus and Young; $3.75).

ON PAGE 68 of *The Watch*, Carlo Levi (speaking through one of his characters) expresses an opinion about Tolstoy. I quote it here because I think it tells what Levi himself was trying to do in *The Watch*.

"Tolstoy," says Levi, "was not a novelist. The huge machines that he used carried him who knows where, but his true value was a different one. . . . He is the poet of the unique instant, which cannot last nor repeat itself nor change . . . outside of time, outside of every novel . . . fixed and intense . . . beyond story-telling. . . . He's like the great impressionist painters. And like the impressionists, he doesn't need to tell a story or paint historical pictures. All he needs to do is to catch, once and for all, an instant that will never come back, that has no before nor after."

Whether or not the foregoing shoe fits Tolstoy comfortably, it most assuredly fits Carlo Levi, accomplished painter, physician, and perhaps more than any other living writer, "the poet of the unique instant." His new book is neither more nor less than a thousand such instants, magically caught, seen and remembered by a painter's eye in the postwar cities of Rome and Naples. And the sum of those brilliant visual images is the recreation of a unique instant in Italian history: the passing of the postwar Resistance movement, and with it, says Levi sadly, the end of the only peasant revolution Italy ever had.

Levi's blurb writer professes to feel that all these unique instants add up to a novel, in spite of the fact that, collectively, they have no plot, no form, no continuity and no active central character. While the matter of classification is secondary, most readers will disagree with the blurbist. It is my own feeling that no book can be a novel of consequence unless it creates full-scale characters.

This *The Watch* does not do. It is alive, literally teeming, with quick word-pictures of people—waiters, journalists, cabinet ministers, black marketeers, beggars, prostitutes, policemen—but it rarely sees inside anyone. Like a painter looking at his model, Levi sees colors and shapes the rest of us might miss, but he keeps his distance.

Although the "I" of this book appears to be the same man who lived through *Christ Stopped at Eboli* (*i.e.*, Levi himself), he remains this time almost entirely the self-effacing narrator, the passive receiver of impressions. Those impressions of crumbling palazzos and ghastly slums, febrile mob scenes and moonlit colonnades, glitter as vividly as any descriptive writing I have ever read. But they remain just that, brilliant descriptive writing, until the narrator *does* something on his own.

In the last quarter of the book, Levi embarks on a journey to Naples. The sprawling canvas narrows down to nine assorted Italians crammed into an ancient taxicab, the wordy philosophizing and time symbolism of the earlier sections disappear, and the central personality that unified *Eboli* emerges again, wise and strong and tender.

RICHARD MATCH

MUSIC: Mozart vs. Horseflesh

WHEN Thomas Jefferson, a considerable music-lover, visited Paris, he must have encountered some of the music of Mozart, by then already well-known to Parisian audiences. He may well have brought printed copies of various Mozart pieces back to Monticello, where, it is said, a good deal of the best music of the period was sung and played.

Jefferson's influence, however, was not enough to establish a musical tradition in Virginia. Horses, foxes and (if I may judge from a recent weekend in Charlottesville) bourbon whiskey maintain a firmer hold on the affections of the post-plantation gentry than the art of music. Unlike Massachusetts, where Boston's growth as a metropolitan center encouraged the development of both music and literature, Virginia has remained an essentially rural state, with no large cities and concentration of artistic interest. Compared to New England, Virginia is still musically naive; compared to North Carolina, where a touring State Symphony Orchestra is supported by taxpayers' funds, it is apathetic.

The announcement that a Mozart Festival would be given in Charlottesville was therefore a source of pleasure and wonder, and I decided to go down to see what it was like. For three days, from July 6 to 8, the auditorium of the local high school, a costly and luxurious structure with a lofty Georgian portico, housed a series of attractive vocal and instrumental concerts. The National Gallery Symphony Orchestra from Washington, a chamber orchestra of National Symphony players conducted by Richard Bales, provided the core of the musical personnel. There were also contributions by an agreeable vocal ensemble, the Mozart Trio, which sings little-known pieces it has dug out of the Library of Congress; by the Curtis String Quartet of Philadelphia; by Barbara Troxell, Metropolitan Opera soprano; by Evelyn Davis' dance group from Washington; and by Mason Jones, the virtuoso first horn of the Philadelphia Orchestra. The motion picture of *The Marriage of Figaro*, made by the Berlin State Opera, was shown, and there were appropriate lectures on Mozart and his music.

As an attempt to bring Virginia into musical alignment with current interests elsewhere, this was an admirable first try. Some of the Charlottesville people were very happy about it, and hoped that the plan to have a Schubert festi-

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val in 1952 could be carried out. But the landed aristocracy, whose ample money could have put the festival well into the black, failed to attend. Attendance ranged from 400 to 900, and was usually nearer 400. One of the biggest private parties of the year was given in conflict with the opening of the festival, though the date had been announced long in advance; almost none of the *haut monde* showed up for the music.

At the present moment one of the most perplexed young men in Virginia is Martin B. Hiden Jr., the 27-year-old impresario of the festival, who went ahead with his plans even after the University of Virginia music department, which had promised to co-operate, withdrew in a fit of pique. The son of a Warrenton physician, Hiden undertook three years ago to organize audiences in half a dozen Virginia cities and towns for concerts presented on the co-operative Community Concerts principle. By booking artists not managed by Columbia and National Concert and Artists Corporation, he was able to avoid middleman's costs, and to sell tickets at an average price of from 40 to 60 cents. The enterprise has succeeded by the skin of its teeth, and the Evening Concert Groups have made a small but pleasant place for themselves wherever Hiden has started them.

But in view of Charlottesville's disregard of the Mozart Festival, Hiden begins to wonder whether there is much point in offering culture to Virginia. All last year's earnings of the Evening Concert Groups, and more, was eaten up by the project. Acting as publicity agent, ticket-seller, house manager, errand boy, angel, host and greeter, Hiden brought himself to the edge of a nervous breakdown, and he owes money out of his own pocket.

It is a sad story, quite at variance with the Pollyanna picture of musical enthusiasm we are customarily shown. A friendly, honest, capable fanatic, Hiden deserved a better return for his efforts than Charlottesville gave him. I can think of only one constructive piece of advice to give him: Get out of Virginia, and go where there are fewer horses and less bourbon.

Records of Old Music. Last December, Modena, Italy, celebrated the four hundredth anniversary of the birth in that city of Orazio Vecchi, one of the most remarkable musicians of the late Renaissance, and a recording (now issued by Cetra-Soria; $5.95) was made of his madrigal drama, *L'Amfiparnaso.* A set of fourteen vivacious, witty and harmonically inventive madrigals strung upon an attenuated *commedia dell' arte* plot, *L'Amfiparnaso* is one of the most entertaining, and at the same time one of the richest, Italian works of the late sixteenth century. The recording is exciting and brilliant, and to me is one of the best things that has happened all year.

Other choice early performances are to be heard in the Editions de L'Oiseau-Lyre, produced in Paris by a wealthy Australian woman named Louise B. M. Dyer. "A Concert of Baroque Music" offers exquisitely played pieces by Vivaldi, Keiser, Loeillet and Handel for flute, oboe, 'cello and harpsichord ($5.95). Another record, conducted by B. L. Jochum, makes known two delightful symphonies from Mozart's precocious adolescence—in G major, Köchel No. 199, and in D major, Köchel No. 202 ($5.95).

CECIL SMITH

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MOVIES

Small Favors

WHEN FRENCHMEN aren't making love, they are thinking about it or talking about it. In this they are not unlike other peoples, but the Gallic preoccupation, it seems from their movies, is little physical, not at all emotional. It is the dalliance of mathematics, and the number of combinations and permutations that a patient Frenchman can achieve with two sexes is an astonishment to the more impulsive tribes.

Take *Marie of the Port*, a very typical French movie with the very typical Frenchman, Jean Gabin, in the lead. Scenes on the quais, scenes in the cafés, scenes in bedrooms, buses and telephone booths, and all of them decimal points in the mathematics of love. In the end, the worldly old one is matched to the tender young one and the old one's weary-eyed mistress is found in bed with the young one's Roland. The answers look odd, but that is apt to be the case when you try to work equations with human beings. And in this case, because the story was written by Georges Simenon, one of the great masters of

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the shrugged shoulder, the outcome is also ambiguously cynical. The young one, it may be, has a banker's mind and the old one's gray hair may cover a foolish head. Not that it is serious in any case — all sums come out even at infinity.

Marie of the Port is a pleasant enough picture, with restful, shabby sets and pretty women (Blanchette Brunoy and Nicole Courcel). It is a relief from the gusty pretentions and phony optimism of so much the screen shows us. It is also a little sour.

The British import, *No Place for Jennifer*, hits a dreary note somewhere between scullery sniveling and the inhuman rectitude of a tract on social hygiene. The unfortunate Jennifer is played by Janette Scott, a pleasant little girl of twelve and the only member of the cast who doesn't look wall-eyed with embarrassment. She is the daughter of divorced parents (Leo Genn and Beatrice Campbell) and, as everyone keeps reminding everyone else in dialogue that appears to have been lifted straight from a handbook on the nervous child, this marital calamity has been a shocking blow to her tender psyche. The blow is not softened by the fact that th adults around Jennifer behave with a cloying insincerity and a sadistic lack of imagination designed to illustrate every blunder known to the child psychologist. The picture reaches its doleful climax with the parents blackguarding each other in court and their daughter running blindly through the slums of London, pursued by an elderly man with a nasty look on his face. It teaches an excellent moral, which is that silly people make silly movies, however good their intentions.

In Circle of Danger, Ray Milland goes to England to find out how come his beloved brother, serving with the Commandos, died of a bullet in the back of his head. His investigations lead him to interview a number of striking British types, among them a Scottish laird (Hugh Sinclair), a Welsh coal miner (Edward Rigby), a choreographer (Marius Goring) somewhat ingénue of manner but nevertheless a blazing hero, and an exceedingly cute salesman of raffish automobiles (Naunton Wayne). He also meets, with the usual results, Patricia Roc, who is perhaps the most striking of the lot.

This picture is really an exercise in international finance, wherein an American star hops over to England to make a picture with a British cast and thus put to work some of Hollywood's blocked sterling. There have been several of them since the war and the formula is getting mechanical: brash young American on quest runs full tilt into British code of proper behavior but after a few sad bruises wins the frosty admiration of the islanders by his Colonial dash and frank decency. This one works up some rather flaccid suspense and a little tight-lipped humor, but never enough to hide the double-entry motivation of the contrivance.

Persons noticing in the small type that *The Prince Who Was a Thief* is based on a story by Theodore Dreiser may judge that sufficient reason for seeing the picture. Be advised. If Dreiser ever wrote anything resembling this exotic delight it was in the very early days before he learned that he was not meant to follow in the footsteps of Scheherazade. The "treatment" of his work is early Fairbanks with Victor Mature trimmings.

The plot is the one about the baby prince whose death was ordered by a wicked uncle but whose infant bubblings were so ingratiating that the assassin stayed his dirk, flung his cloak about the babe and made off with him into the night. Twenty years later a loyal captain of the imperial guard spies the royal crest tattooed on a young thief's right bicep, the vizier flees hissing impotent maledictions and the robber prince and his beggar princess mount the throne amid the intoxicated cheers of the ragged populace. All this is performed in Technicolor with a kind of lunatic enthusiasm for the novelty, wit and Oriental headiness of the situations by Tony Curtis, Piper Laurie, Everett Sloane, Jeff Corey and assorted citizens of Baghdad Heights. ROBERT HATCH

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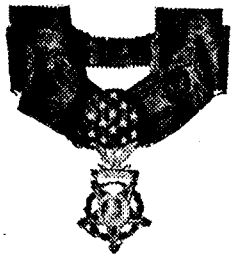

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